children to be "little people". From this viewpoint the Okinawans appear to regard children as being not yet quite human. Okinawan children can observe, overtly or covertly, probably a good deal more of adult life than American children can observe and Okinawan adults discuss matters in front of children that American adults would not discuss before children, yet the Okinawan adult appears to expect his children to understand far less of what is done or said than the American does. To illustrate, an Okinawan grandmother may discuss a three-year old's illegitimate origin in its presence, tease it to the point of tears by offering to give it away to the passing American, and then say nothing when it wantonly snatches and breaks something of value. The American is likely to regard the talking as a possible cause of complexes, the teasing as downright cruel, and the tolerance as intolerable lack of discipline.

Small children are free to observe all that goes on in the house and yard during their waking hours. They are not subject to any rules determining when they are to go to bed. There is hardly a formal gathering into which they cannot insinuate themselves for hand-outs. They are taken to the theatre, where they may have to be shooed off the stage by the actors themselves. The only aspect of life that seems to be deliberately withheld from them is sex. They are told that babies come out of their mothers' knees, and although they may overhear a good deal about the sexual relationships of different people and the difficulties that result from them, they are given no notion of the nature of sex. I will discuss this in more detail under attitudes toward sex.

Although children seem bold in actions, they are not bold in speech. As a matter of fact they often do not respond when spoken to and seem unwilling to venture to speak at all. I make this statement not merely on the basis of my own experience as an outsider attempting to talk to them; an Okinawan friend also pointed out how different the children in the north were from those of Central and Southern Okinawa---the Northern children answered his questions when he spoke to them. Some of the children's shyness about speaking may be due to the fact that they usually speak Okinawan in the home and then have to learn Japanese in school. Moreover, they soon learn to feel that Okinawan is inferior to Japanese as a medium of polite or intellectual expression; they may be shy because they fear to speak Okinawan since it is inferior and because they fear to speak Japanese since they cannot speak it well. But I have the impression that children are also often unresponsive when an adult speaks to them in Okinawan and when the language of the answer is not a factor. I believe that there is another factor that is almost inherent in the nature of both the Japanese and the Okinawan languages. When speaking to children in Japanese, and also very likely when speaking in Okinawan, adults use a different form of speech than the form they use when addressing adults. Somewhat different forms of speech for children are probably used in every society; they do exist in the United States, but never to such a striking extent as in Japanese. Japanese and Okinawan both have a range of verb forms expressing several degrees of politeness or formality, and to some extent there are also levels of vocabulary corresponding to them. In speaking to a child, the adult uses the simplest verb forms, the simplest words, and then speaks not in whole sentences but rather in a series of phrases each

followed by "nee?", "isn't it so?" In this manner the adult communicates what little that must be communicated to these sub-human beings that are constantly underfoot. To other adults he uses other verb forms, other words, longer and more tightly integrated sentences. He does so, I believe, confident that he is speaking over the heads of the children, though he would deny that this was his motive; his use of different forms in addressing adults would be more likely explained as motivated by respect for the adults. I believe that in this manner Okinawan children are mentally more isolated from adults than are American children, though physically they are in greater contact with them. In time, of course, children learn to understand the conversation of their elders, but they do so without asking questions or overtly showing much interest. Thus very gradually they come into the adult world. 858 171 198

The interpretation just presented is more an hypothesis that seeks to explain some features of Okinawan behavior than a fact that can be indisputably demonstrated. But it suggests a reason, though probably not the only one, for the strong tendency to retain Okinawan as the language of the home, even in families where the adults speak Japanese fairly well, regard it as superior, and use it on formal occasions. Okinawan is suitable for addressing children. Adults unconsciously prefer it because it makes it that much easier for them to differentiate between the speech used in addressing children and that used in addressing adults. Moreover, I believe this interpretation agrees with what appears to be a marked tendency in Okinawan society for the educated deliberately to talk over the heads of the uneducated. I will discuss this again under the heading education. 858 197 198 [196]

Discipline Parents appear to want their children to be agreeable in their relations with others and industrious at school. They praise the gentle (J. 'otonashii') child and the good student. Yet they seem to tolerate noisiness, disregard for property, and to some extent disregard for person, though they may be more tolerant of this sort of behavior in boys than in girls. On one occasion Pitts and Lebra presented an old man with several photographs that they had taken of him and his grandson. As they handed the photographs to the old man, the boy snatched one and in doing so tore it. The old man was visibly hurt at the loss of the photograph, but said nothing to the child at all. On the other hand one of us also once saw a grandmother reach over and pinch a somewhat older girl quite severely because she was lying with her legs apart. 867

Where behavior thought to be of a more serious nature is concerned, parents do attempt to control their children. They do so by coaxing, bribing, threatening, teasing, scolding, and, for most as a last resort, by corporal punishment. Scolding takes such forms as "dirty!", "shameful!", "You will be laughed at", etc. While being scolded the child need not answer; he may simply look at the ground and remain silent. Since he is not expected to answer he may be less inclined to construct elaborate excuses in the manner of the American child. The threats include such things as "we'll send you away", "we'll sell you to the Itoman people" (to a boy), "we'll sell you to the juri" (to a girl), "we'll give you to the Americans", "we'll call the police", "we'll call a cat (or some kind of bogey) to scare you," "you'll receive divine retribution." Since children are sometimes put out of the house as 861